/360 cont./

361 many huts beside a dead sea monster create the illusion of a village. Since there is plenty of meat and fat, a number of families can settle down together without hindrance. If during this time someone must obtain some vital necessity, he departs for a few days, but leaves his hut standing and occupies it again upon his return. There is no food supply more abundant and convenient than a stranded whale. At the same time the gathering of many
•[571] families satisfies the need for sociability, and the people can give themselves up to it all the more undisturbed the longer they are free from worry about the necessities of life. Naturally the large number of people and their freedom from the food quest suggest stimulating diversion, and this is offered principally by the [illegible] and the accompanying kina. In comparison with these protracted events, fewer families gather together for funeral rites, and they remain in one place a much shorter time, often only a day or two.

No matter what brings families together, they always preserve their independence. Groups of relatives and friends erect their huts closer together, but there is always a space of a few steps between them. In spite of intimacy with neighbors, everyone strives for at least a small space between dwellings. The /361/ distribution of huts in such a camp is very irregular, because each individual makes his arrangements for his own greatest convenience. He first selects for his dwelling a dry spot and the protection of a rock or a group of trees. Drinking water must be not too far away. Whoever is first to appear on the scene has a greater freedom of selection, and the stragglers are content to take the places that have been left vacant. No one has a right and would not presume to exercise any kind of influence on the distribution of the huts. A person who wishes to leave the settlement can depart or return unhindered, just as he likes. On such an occasion two or at most three families may share a single hut if they are close to each other, such as brothers and sisters or true friends, but such exceptions are rare. In that case they build the ordinary dome-shaped family-hut in larger proportions, not the so-called winter hut (p. 33).

572 Everyone, of course, is completely free to dispose of his
577 time as he sees fit. The greater part of the day is spent in talk and conversation. During the long evenings they like to recite the old legends and tell of their own experiences. One often sees the men

/927 cont./

must be fulfilled. We refer, first of all, to the regulations and customs that apply to a marriage contract. The important position of the woman in the economy assures her position within the family equal to that of the man. It is the strict social duty of every individual family, apart from any purely natural compulsion, to rear the children according to the prevailing principles and the established social aims. Beyond that, as a continuation and supplement of family rearing, the tribe or group also offers the young people at the time of maturity a community education in the youth initiation. There are many good reasons why this ceremony /928/ should be discussed in this section, although it is derived from the realm of religious ideas. In nothing else among the Yaruara does the primitive state manifest itself so clearly as in the youth initiation, and it functions beyond the narrow legal boundaries of the family, exercising its own rights.

Several families are naturally associated through blood ties, but only loosely, and the reciprocal obligations growing out of this are the kind universally found among human beings. Five dialect groups have been established as associations of larger proportions, but these cannot be regarded as a division based on social principles (p. 199 /unmarked/). Moreover, there is no hierarchy based on birth and station, nor are there class differences which elsewhere rest on accomplishments or property. Finally, unification of the entire tribal community under a single head, such as a chief or magistrate, priest or sorcerer, did not take place among our Indians.

There are ancient tribal customs with the force of legal obligations, as well as definite principles about possessions and property, and the public sees to it that they are faithfully followed. It also observes and practices the cultivation of the universally familiar tribal virtues. Crimes against the sacred duration of the family or against related groups are settled in smaller or larger combats. Although there is no special social division and no appointment of an authoritative person to rule the community, there is a distinct and binding power embracing all members of the tribe -- namely, the state, no matter how weak and undefined it still appears in its earliest beginnings.

1: Gusinde--600 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 5916 Yahgan/ 5916

/777 cont./

C. Kinship and Tribal Society

182 Among peoples on the low cultural level of our Yamana it is easy to observe the close reciprocal relationship between the nature of the economy and the social order. No one will regard the one as caused solely by the other, nor may one summarily deny a certain inner connection between the two.

The total number of this Fuegian tribe is low, and there is nothing to indicate that it has been noticeably higher at any time during its long presence in the Cape Horn region (p. 227 /untranslated/). This fact alone permits only one interpretation, that a complex social order, according to the various points of view from which one judges and evaluates social structures, is not to be expected here, particularly since a compact social life in one place involving all the members of the tribe is completely lacking. What our natives acquire in the way of subsistence is certainly sufficient; they do not die of hunger, and can even eat their fill. An excess of any part of their limited assets, however, is impossible. They are dependent on an imperfect form of production; hence, they can neither become numerous nor unite in a compact social life. The population is limited, so to speak, by the available food supply, and since this is sparsely distributed over a wide area, a permanent association of all tribal members in one place or in a few specific places is impossible.

594 621 The entire tribe seems torn asunder into very small individual groups, each of whom lives widely separated from any of the others and enjoys complete independence. These groups cannot be subdivided into still lower units. They are the individual families. Each family, as such, forms an independent economic unit which is isolated as a distinct community and pursues its own goal in life. Lothrop (b):160 says briefly and definitely: "Yahgan society was based on the family. There was no higher unit" /cited in English/.

602 571 Closer and more remote degrees of kinship spread out around the individual family as around a point of crystallization, and the consciousness of belonging together is more pronounced the closer the blood tie is. The more distant the individual families are as kinsmen, the more tenuous their mutual relations. This /778/ is the basis for the limited association and wide dispersion of all

/778 cont./

602 571 [578] families within the same ethnic unit. Groups living far apart sometimes do not even know one another; their mutual estrangement is favorable soil for the growth of suspicion, mistrust, and animosity. Insecure and harsh economic conditions react on the social level in a centrifugal sense, if we may so express it (209).

209. Stirling, who has let some inaccuracies creep in, says: "Family life in Fuegia is exclusive. Get outside the family, and relationships are doubtful, if not hostile. The bond of a common language is no security for friendly offices. To be of the same tribe is no guarantee of safety in travelling. Fear and distrust are stronger than tribal affinities" /cited in English/ (MM:IV,11; 1870).

619 Nevertheless, there is a true tribal society on a modest scale. It is based on a common origin and language; it is expressed in the fact that everyone acts in exactly the same way and that all are subject to a definite, unwritten, universally binding law. Every individual feels that he is a member of the whole, he knows that he is united with one who can make himself intelligible to him in the same language, and he traces his origin to the same source as all others who are just as lawfully rooted in his native soil as he is. This consciousness becomes so strong that, as individuals and as a community, they are convinced that they form a special group; they believe themselves to be "the people," the ethnic unit having exclusive right of existence in their homeland. The boundaries of their homeland are regarded as something given in ancient times (210), whose legal validity is thus inviolably se-

210. Bridges (k):233 first learned of the homeland boundaries from the Yamana themselves.

cure for all time, no matter what the explanation for the original bounds of native territory and its first occupation by their forefathers.

582 /783 cont./
612 Though he may then spend the rest of his life there, he remains bound as a blood relative to the family from which he sprang.

601 In order to be sure about mutual connections, the Yamana language furnishes very exact designations even for distant degrees of kinship. These are, of course, just as familiar to everyone as are words for articles of daily use. Hyades (p):334 writes: "Kinship is recognized even to the fourth or fifth degree" /translated from French/. Although our Indian is not painfully exact in counting, nevertheless he knows how to determine a relationship that sometimes goes back to remote degrees and that finally can be established only by the fact that the families have been together locally for a long time.

612 Kinship, however, does not operate merely in a negative sense
571 by making marriage impossible; far beyond that it commands mutual aid and assistance. Lawfully the individual family depends upon itself, but there is no arrangement to guarantee it legal protection. It would be at the mercy of a stronger one if it did not find protection and support through its blood relatives (219).

219. Bove (c):130 and (g):234 writes: "Only the necessity for common defense forces some families to unite into a single tribe /tribu/, but no one has the right to put himself at the head and to meddle in another's affairs" /translated from Spanish/. The expression "tribu" here can mean only a community of kinsmen.

A family that was merely friendly would not be close enough /784/ to be a safe refuge in every case of need. Blood ties, on the other hand, are never dissolved and retain their strength. Hence every one notes very carefully all the persons who are related to him, both closely and more distantly. He assures himself of their help by frequent visits and by repeatedly asking other people about them. He especially seeks them out and calls upon them urgently if he is threatened by the hostility of others or if he expects a sudden attack. These are the social connections that everyone cultivates (220)

220. These connections were described much too briefly by Spegazzini (a):165.

/784 cont./

612 according to his own free choice or the distressing situation he
571 happens to be in.

Sociability is also a factor here, affecting one person more
612 than another among a circle of intimates. No one has a privi-
571 leged position established by law. For logical reasons young peo-
554 ple naturally bow to the moral superiority of experienced old men or capable younger men, but if something does not suit a person, he leaves inconspicuously and goes his own way until further developments.

Everyone likes to obtain the counsel and decisions of an older relative. A person who has cultivated his connections with his kinsfolk and has honored them can always count on help and support. If one's kinsfolk are numerous and include men who are held in esteem, his own self-importance is thereby considerably increased and his confidence reinforced. He likes to boast of his far-flung, mighty kinsfolk on whose protection he can count. One's own relatives are, of course, more privileged and more highly honored than other guests, and everyone knows it is his duty to hasten to the aid of a relative who is in distress and threatened by enemies, to avenge the wrong done to him, and actively to intercede for him everywhere. Family honor demands all this, and everyone esteems it highly. Thus, the individual always finds protection and justice among his kinsfolk in any affliction.

3. Kinship Terms

601 Although the individual family is lawfully completely independent, nevertheless it sometimes finds itself dependent on relatives. Consequently everyone is surprisingly familiar with his family connection with anyone else. This probably was not a causal factor in the origin of the many kinship terms, but it is certain that an adult Indian has a mastery of these designations and uses them surprisingly accurately. Immediately upon /785/ the birth of a child and during its first few months of life, the family discusses its relationship to all the closer and more distant kinsmen who make up the family's circle (221).

221. Despard (b):698 refers to this as follows:

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1. Its Structure

197 634 571 It is an inborn tendency of the Yamana to emphasize contrasts. These are certainly present in his homeland, and each person knows the characteristics of his local area, in fact, he must take them into account. We have mentioned in detail (p. 199 /untranslated/) that the entire Cape Horn Archipelago is geographically divided into five separate regions. As a result, there are an equal number of dialect groups living here (228).

228. Even the members of the Mission Scientifique did not agree uniformly about the individual ethnic groups. Hyades (j):148 is definitely at variance with the opinion of Hahn (b):1533, the ship's doctor. Compare the more specific boundaries in Gusinde (a): 1018.

Since time immemorial boundaries erected by Nature herself have been determined for each of these groups, and they have formed a dividing wall up to the last few decades. It is only recently that unfavorable forces have succeeded in breaking them down. Nevertheless, even today each of the few surviving Yamana boasts of his competence in this or that dialect district. No one knows who first marked this region /799/ and assigned the tribesmen to it. No myth says anything about it. They all readily accept given reality. It is well known that within his dialect district everyone enjoys complete independence and unrestricted freedom of movement. He has the same right to subsistence as his countryman.

609 634 Journeys into neighboring districts are undertaken for the special purposes of obtaining food or bartering for essential tools. No one remains away longer than is necessary. The people living in another district will permit a strange family to come in and provide themselves with whatever they need, but they do not tolerate anyone roaming about their territory an unnecessarily long time. If he should do so, it would cause hostility which could become serious, but as long as a stranded whale has not been completely consumed or as long as it is impossible to obtain

609 /799 cont./
634 food in their own native district, neighbors are not only unmolested in a strange district, but must be tolerated, as ancient custom prescribes.

621 Even the more circumscribed region of each individual dia-
634 lect group is usually cut up by many waterways. Hence in each
571 one, again under the pressure of geographic conditions, smaller groups are formed which, as a result of greater mobility in local areas, more frequently meet and have intercourse with one another. These are the so-called local groups within the dialect groups. Each of the former is made up of people born in the same region. They regard themselves as closer to one another, and this small region as their immediate home. They take their common name from the region, namely, from a bay, a water channel, or a small group of islands.

Hyades (j):150 also observed this custom: "They like to say: 'the people of Packsaddle Bay,' Pouthroaya yamana, 'of Pomeroby Sound,' Kanakouche yamana, but somewhat as we would in a city in speaking of some quarter or some street" /translated from French/ (229). Obviously such designations should not be inter-

229. Relying on a communication from Reverend Bridges, dated June, 1884, Hyades (b):718 repeated: "All these natives are known by the name of the localities in which they live and are very exactly divided up into small clans" /translated from French/.

preted or evaluated in the sense of an organization or a local tribal division.

For his part Bridges used the designation "clan or tribe" /cited in English/ for local groups. For example, in the year 1883/84 he took a census of the entire Yamana population and put the individual groups together "under their several clan names" /cited in English/. His reasoning was: "All these natives are known by the names of their several locations and are very minutely divided into small clans. The term Ucur (ikš), which primarily means a dwelling of any kind, secondarily family, kinsfolk, is the term used /806/ to denote clans or tribe" /cited in English/ (MM:XVIII, 294; 1884). He states that

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621 634 571 the Usbuala local group extends over about 20 English miles (MM:XIII, 151:1879), but this is only a third of the area that the middle dialect groupactually occupies.

Corresponding to the word formations given above, BD:259 also lists some in which the native district of the grandmother of some person is definitely taken into account: "hīkaiamakūtasa, the connection a peron has with the land of his father's mother, or of his mother's mother; hīkaiamakūtasūsi, the country of my mother's mother's, my father's mother's country" /cited in English/. With this rootword the terms for the male and female relatives of that region ae formed by means of suffixes.

Such designation for the native district of the grandmother were probably createdbecause each of the two grandmothers of the same grandson has home territories elsewhere; on the other hand, the paternal anestors of the grandson remain almost without exception in the ame locality. This comes out even more clearly in the explanation given in BD:168 for the word kaiamākūtasa which ocurs in hīkaiamakūtasa above, for it is "a term applied of the connection one has with a place or people from which one's grandmother came" /cited in English/. From this comes the furtherformation haiamākūtasūsi, "the country of my grandmother, o the country of one's grandchildren" /cited in English/, and, finaly, hīkaiamākūtasāpai, "two persons belonging to one's grandmother's country" /cited in English/. It does not seem to me permissible to attempt to read into these designations a matriachal type of social structure.

191 189 Our Indians ar more conversant with expressions that contain the idea of belonging to a specific country, of indigenousness and the rights of residence. The root word hánnan is given in BD:265 in the sense of "my country, in opposition to palalísin, civilised country" /cited in English/. From this come the derivations hannajámalim "(used by natives specially of themselves) my country men, my country people," hannakipajámalim, "my country women," hannaala, "my countryman," and finally hannakípa, "my countrywoman" /citations in English/.

178 634 The changes wrought by recent influences have pushed the dialect groups and circles of families, which hitherto were separated in their circumscribed local districts, closer and closer

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178/634 together. Since 1880 a particularly strong movement in this direction set in. According to Hyades ( ):718, Bridges noted the effect of this in June, 1884: "The Yahgan are now so much more coalesced that they form only a single colony" /translated from French/. Obviously Bridges would like his readers to believe that a change for the better had been brought about among these natives under the influence of the Anglican mission. He was mistaken. Furthermore, Hyades (ℓ):721 raised the justifiable objection against Bridges' assertion by pointing out that the Yamana "were formerly divided into tribes that were hostile or antipathetic toward one another" /translated from French/. This is not to deny that occasionally disputes and hostilities were carried on between individual families of the same local group (230).

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230. From his most recent experience Bove (e):158 reported: "The inhabitants of the east (Picton Island) and those from Adduvia (New Year Sound) still [since the founding of the mission station in Ushuwaia] fought with each other frequently, and often enough the sad news of deeds of violence, murder and insults reaches the Mission."

571/612 /801/ The association of the five dialect groups is very tenuous (231), that of the local groups within each dialect group

231. This is probably what Aspinall:270 means when he says: "Despite the lack of closer ties of tribal society, one notices among them many expressions of true affection and deeper concern."

is somewhat less so, and that of the families of each circle of relatives who in their totality form the local group is truly strong. There is, of course, overlapping, insofar as a person has blood relatives in more than one local group. It is well known (p. 607) that in itself the circle of relatives is neither a definitely ordered structure nor a specifically organized system. For some the blood

/801 cont./

571 612 ties are stronger, for others weaker, although the bond is as strong as Nature herself can make it. In analyzing the kinship group, we see revealed the one and only complete social structure which rests firmly upon itself, namely, the individual family. It forms a small state by itself (232).

> 232. Hyades (g):35 has attempted the following explanation: "Their uncontrollable urge for independence does not let the Fuegians achieve an organization beyond that of the family in the narrowest sense. Everyone is thrown back upon himself alone." Barclay (a):64 maintains of the Yamana that "he owns no faith, religion, or tribal tie other than that of the family which huddles together for food and sustenance" /cited in English/.

571 It is altogether compatible with the character of our Fuegians that the five dialect groups among themselves cultivate peaceful relations throughout. This is even more true of the local groups and most of all of the families making up the circle of kinsfolk (233).

> 233. It is incomprehensible to me how Bridges (h):205 could express the following monstrous opinion: "Their continual offenses against their *friends and neighbors* keep the community in a chronic state of uneasiness and violence. There are few who do not show scars, and deaths often occur as a result of quarrels" /translated from Spanish/. This assertion is in clear contrast with many other judgments which Bridges himself set forth.

Each day is more or less filled with the hunt for food. Not much time remains for intrigues and quarreling. The members of the family group, more than the members of the local group and much more than those of the dialect group, are on occasion dependent upon one another in various matters, and they would not willfully or carelessly spoil their relationship with those whose

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571 help might be indispensable to them.

Formerly, when whales often showed up in the channels of the Cape Horn realm, the natives from all regions flocked together more often, camped together on the same spot, and became better acquainted. Intermarriage followed and with it repeated visits of parents when a young married woman followed her new husband into his home district. It is true that existing boundaries were universally respected, especially those of the dialect groups. Moreover, people assumed the right /802/ to cross them undisturbed, but they did not misuse this right by roaming about aimlessly for any length of time in the strange region.

Local conditions themselves explain why the three northern dialect groups can associate more frequently with one another than with the two dialect groups farther south (p. 199 /untranslated/).

2. Its Leadership

622 What can be read between the lines in the above section must finally be clothed in definite words, namely, that our Yamana do not recognize any person as having the authority to rule either the whole society or the larger groups within it, no matter what names are applied to such persons in higher social organizations. This by no means strange phenomenon is confirmed not only by the independent position of the individual family and its freedom to settle anywhere, but also by the *definite testimony of many* observers. Despard (b):746 asserts: "They have no king, chief, or other person, distinguished from his fellows by hereditary or committed right of rule. They have no council of state" /cited in English/. Hyades (j):184 repeats the same thing: "The Fuegians do not have chiefs, and they are opposed to any idea of superiority and authority" /translated from French/ (234). Thus there is no

234. Only in this sense is Bove's (e):158 assertion valid: "The expression 'authority' is a dead word." Compare Alvarez:145, Bove (g):234, Cooper:177, Fitz-Roy (a):178, Lothrop (b):180, Levinato (b):150, and others.

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554 Thus our Fuegians lack appointed persons of authority and
571 written laws. Nevertheless, there is a sovereign power, even though it is invisible. As we know, the whole tribe is divided into five definitely demarcated dialect groups (p. 199 /untranslated/). Each of them is divided into several local groups who in turn occupy smaller regions. Finally, each of these is made up of a few family groups. The /804/ individual family, finally, relies upon itself and enjoys complete independence. It is a family decision to associate more often with some families or more closely with others. Sometimes they travel and spend several days together as a result of a chance meeting. This purely external tie is just as quickly dissolved if another family arrives with whom they choose to associate. The above-mentioned tiámuna sometimes makes arrangements with the tiámuna of another group of families to bring together a larger number for a definite purpose. These are always free decisions, however, and there is no outside pressure. Fluent speech and a faculty for quick persuasion are usually the only decisive factors.

571 Such an arrangement is made for the initiation ceremony,
881 the men's ceremony, or common burial rites. Everyone knows the universal obligation of young people to take part in the initiation ceremony. It is the duty of the adults to create the opportunity for it, and certain influential people are moved to hold it, all depending on the circumstances. The fact that the general public safeguards that important institution and does not let any young person suffer the loss of its advantages must be unequivocally interpreted as an effect of the invisible but mighty compulsion of the power of the state (p. 640).

183 If anyone is repeatedly guilty of serious violations against
626 the prevailing customs and causes apparent harm to a number of persons by doing so, nothing happens for a while, but then a close relative of the transgressor will arouse himself and, referring to the opinion of others, will appeal to his conscience. They do not even stop at a fight and care nothing about protecting their own lives, since they put greater value on respect for the existing order. Thus again an invisible power of the state sees to it that laws are kept pure and respected. When famine breaks out in a local group and a whale is driven ashore somewhere, an unwritten law goes into effect which does away with the narrower boundaries of intercourse

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1. Occasion and Duration

The European often greatly underestimates primitive man's dependence on food-getting. Concern about the daily necessities arbitrarily and uncontrollably pushes aside every wish and plan, every claim and calculation that might stand in its way. Speiser's observation about the Australians also applies to our Fuegians, namely, that "food is the central feature of their material and mental pursuits, "that their attention is primarily and most strongly directed toward subsistence. Seemingly primitive people know nothing about exact divisions of time or about constancy in their decisions. They do not keep their word or fulfill their promises. In reality this is not the case, and it is an injustice if they are depicted as fickle, irresolute, and disloyal. Their decisions are changed or abandoned at the last minute according to the advantages for food-getting and for the safety of their lives. It seems much more important to them to banish hunger or to escape danger to their lives than to do what they have said, to keep their promise, to appear at a rendezvous, or to make a promised visit. This controlling and decisive principle is no less effective when it applies to the success and duration of the ~~visit~~ stay. Hence we should not expect immutable laws in this respect.

Sooner or later the families will come together again so that their maturing children may have an opportunity to take part in the initiation. At first only outsiders of the local group that the desire for this is made known, but as a rule the impetus for the decision comes from the outside. The strongest reason seems to be /824/ the stranding of a whale somewhere. Then the families crowd in not only from nearby, but sometimes even from a distance, and settle around the mighty animal. Now they are all free from concern about food for many days and even have a surplus for the immediate future (p. 336). If this spot offers the additional advantage that the men can easily hunt game animals and the women are richly rewarded in their gathering, most of the families, perhaps even all of them, remain in this productive area. There is nothing forcing them to look for another region where, to begin with, they could not be sure of such favorable conditions. Thus,

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the stranded whale with the enormous amount of meat it offers the people for many days is not the incentive for the initiation, but rather the gathering of numerous families who have met here for this reason and who wish to remain longer in this favorable little spot because of its many advantages for obtaining food. This occasionally but by no means regularly brings about the desire to celebrate the čiexaus.

The same thing happens if many families come together in one place for some other reason, such as a bad accident in which several persons have been the victims or a large funeral for an esteemed old man or a capable medicine man. The suitability of the campsite determines the final decision, although the mood and inclination of the people, as well as the influence of individual aged persons, have a great deal to do with it.

It is only when many families are assured of effortless provisioning in a given place that they look about for young people who would be suitable for the čiexaus. No one knows much about it until the families have come together, for even within the local group one family may not be in touch with another. In olden times this festival would never have been omitted for want of suitable children, if the campsite were favorable, because formerly there were plenty of them.

Now and then there is a strong urge for a more prolonged gathering, such as is required for the čiexaus, because of the desire for society and a thorough exchange of ideas. We must never forget how much heavier the burden of loneliness rests upon the few members of the individual family the longer it must be endured. Above all the men like to be among themselves once more, and even the women have all kinds of things to tell one another. The men are eager to talk about their hunting experiences and successes in their work. The women have all kinds of little things to tell about their children and are even more anxious to chat with their relatives. How stimulating it is to listen to the stories of an experienced old man, and how one likes to gather around a lively wag who is stimulated to new sallies by the applause of the multitude! If only to enjoy once more this refreshing, vitalizing fellowship, many a person will visit the campsite where the initiation /825/ takes place. A number of

/825 cont./
families will remain together for a longer time, especially if favorable local conditions are particularly inviting.

From this account we can easily see how the many circumstances and details of unpredictable daily life influence the duration of a čiéxaus ceremony and even determine it. One of these factors is the availability of wood and food, the protection of the campsite against strong winds and flood, the prevailing mood of intimate sociability among the families, and finally the variety offered by the festival and its lively leadership under a talented overseer. According to my elderly informants, most families in earlier times remained together long enough so that the candidates were detained in the Great Hut for at least six weeks. At any rate, those families who had a child or close relative who was an uíwala remained for the entire period, as did the families of the overseer and the leader because these two had to carry through to the end the offices they had assumed. The rest of the families, of course, had unimpeded freedom of movement. Often the festival would last over three months, since the leader made himself responsible for the success and effectiveness of this training with one or another of the candidates whom he treated with special consideration. A certain goal was to be attained with all the uíwala, and if forcefulness did not achieve it, it had to be attained by an extension of time.

Since for the past few decades the tribe as a whole has been in the process of complete disintegration, the important čiéxaus has become an occasional affair under the pressure of outside circumstances, but not for the older Yamana. They are now satisfied if the festival lasts one or two weeks. At my first initiation we sat in the Great Hut for ten days. In 1921 the people celebrated it by themselves in Puerto Mejillones where it lasted 12 days. In the following year, they ended it after six days.

What we experienced in March, 1922, had sometimes also happened earlier, namely, that some external event forced them to discontinue it. The most common reason for this was a death or unfavorable conditions of the land, less often because of lack of food. They would move the camp to another place where a new čiéxaus hut was built. In Puerto Mejillones it was the great desire of the younger men for the kina celebration, which they had never experienced, that caused them to interrupt the initiation.

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202 it would remind one of a forest fire.

If the Yamana let a single cloud of smoke, ukŕali uĺkŕ, rise up, they are announcing a serious illness or an accident and want other people, above all the yĕkamuĺ, to bring help soon. In order to make two to four clouds of smoke, they previously prepare the corresponding number of fires which are placed about four meters apart. With two smoke clouds, kĕmbé'be uĺkŕ, they announce a condition of serious distress that might be caused by all kinds of reasons, for example, loss of the canoe and the hunting implements or serious damage to them, the loss of the hut fire, or total lack of food. Three smoke clouds, mŕten uĺkŕ, announce a death. With four smoke clouds, wŭru uĺkŕ, they announce that a whale is stranded. Finally it is customary to let one or more large smoke clouds ascend as a farewell to Europeans. They prepared this pleasure for me personally on two different occasions, when once a Chilean cutter, and the next time the "Garibaldi," picked me up in Punta Remolino and carried me westward. On the trip past Puerto Mejillones on the southern coast of Beagle Channel this sign of a final greeting arose with unmistakable distinctness. Long before, in March, 1834, Darwin (d):263 was honored in this strange fashion. On the last visit of the "Beagle," after the well-known Jemmy "had reached land, he lit a signal fire, the smoke rose up and gave us a final and long farewell as the ship was on its way out to the open sea." The Yamana do not, however, greet each other with smoke signals; they use them only for the above reasons.

476 From the duty of mutual assistance there has arisen the rule that everyone must respond to an invitation for a common search for food, which applies particularly when a few men decide to search for cormorant nests. This enterprise is successful only if several of them join forces (p. 238). Anyone who is asked may not refuse to take part. Likewise they must join in an attack on a herd of seals (p. 38 /untranslated/) which is to be undertaken from a favorable shore. In the same way two or more canoes go out into a channel together where the women hunt for fish, crabs, and mussels for hours. They also invite each other to gather firewood in the forest. Such joining of forces is also necessary for personal safety in all kinds of dangerous undertakings.

● 571 Although many practices governing mutual association among the Yamana have arisen out of the necessity to help one another,

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571 a few go back to the clearly recognizable tendency toward gregariousness. It not only draws individual families together often, but keeps them together until urgent duties once more separate them. If two canoes meet, one can /1022/ almost always rely on their 571 steering toward the nearest landing place and building their huts 521 next to each other there. Then they sit huddled together hour after hour and talk to their heart's content. "They are extraordinarily fond of long talks and stories; a good part of the day is filled in this way" (Aspinall:270). Some but will have a special attraction for all who are camping in the same place, without any particular reason. Even before darkness has fallen, one person after another will inconspicuously steal toward it and squat down beside the fire. Everyone feels content in such a circle of intimate friends, and the conversation fills long hours. Bridges (VSA:XII, 7; 1865) says: "They are certainly much given to talk, and when seated before a good fire, engaged in conversation, they seem most happy. When they are cheerfully inclined, they are much given to immoderate laughter, but when sullkily inclined, it is difficult to restore them to cheerfulness" /cited in English/(441).

441. Of the 12 Yamana who at that time were staying on Isla Keppel, Bridges (VSA:XII, 9; 1865) reported on September 16, 1864: "The natives are certainly of a social turn; of evenings they generally meet in one house or another, and spend their time in conversation and merriment" /cited in English/. Reports of other missionaries confirm that in the mission, also, families of all areas lived together amicably.

521 Minor happenings and the sometimes wholly insignificant details of a day are the subject for conversation; they are by no means as completely insignificant and meaningless for the Fuegians as for a European passing through. J. Rae (VSA:XII, 221;1864) referred to this in his remarks on August 1, 1864: "Often I wondered myself about their long conversations which they keep up when they are by themselves; several times I thought what they were talking about. Once I listened, and I found they were talking about a subject of which others take not the slightest notice. For

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573 various songs, the diversity of body painting, and the delight in ornaments show the not inconsiderable aesthetic feeling of the Yamana. For an evaluation from the viewpoint of culture history, a distinction that was often pointed out to me is significant. The Yamana say: The Ehwámat song and every yihamat song are peculiar to the five ethnic groups alike, but the [illegible] song, the [illegible] song, and the pashma songs belonged to the Halakwulup and were first transmitted to the western Yamana, who gradually transmitted them to the central Yamana groups so that they, too, have had them since then.

d. Sociability

571 As a result of the type of economy imposed on our Fuegians by their environment, the individual throughout most of his life is dependent upon himself alone or his immediate family. By nature he is capable of getting along by himself and of being self-sufficient. He is constantly stimulated anew by everything around him, and the pressure of food-seeking incessantly arouses his desire for action. Hence he can never be inactive for any length of time and become bored. His temperament is far too lively and active. He knows how to keep himself busy even if he has to be alone. There are many middle-aged and older persons who prefer continuous solitude far more than one visit after another by a related family or a family of friends. The Yamana has many inner resources and likes to give himself up to his own thoughts. He finds great satisfaction in sitting by himself and occupying himself in one way or another. Nevertheless, the great enjoyment that lively social intercourse can offer often drives one or another of them into the company of his fellows, where he can enrich his knowledge and his spirit and where mind and soul derive new stimulation. His happy nature comes into its own in group games. He is a very agreeable companion.

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1. Gatherings

571 From previous accounts the Yamana is known to be a person
573 who has himself under perfect control and who usually behaves in
521 a very /1472/ reserved manner in the company of others (p. 914).
This attitude is not determined solely by mistrust of others and the traditional rules for social intercourse (p. 913); it is far more a natural characteristic of our Indians, to which their training, of course, contributes its share. Within the family circle every member is very reserved and taciturn. For hours at a time individuals will sit beside each other in the canoe or in the hut without exchanging a word. If they chat with one another now and then, their talk almost always centers around what the present day has brought. Loud gaiety and spontaneous outbursts of joy are more or less rare within the individual family. Nevertheless, many a father will amuse himself with his young sons and many an active mother will do the same with her daughters in every conceivable way. Parents really enjoy playing with their young children and fondle them very lovingly from the day they are born (p. 513).
573 As soon as children have some understanding, the parents confide
961 in them about their own experiences and the knowledge derived
521 from it, as well as much of their religious and mythological belief. In this way the children obtain a rich heritage of ideas and learn to think about it when they are alone. In the evening after the long day's journey, the parents, squatting around the hut fire or stretched out on their hard beds, repeat in detail just about everything that the day has brought. They make comparisons and recall other things, confirm this thing and warn about that, discuss their plans for the morrow, and toy with hopes for the future. This is the particular kind of social life, maintained within narrow (in fact, the narrowest) limits, that the Fuegian family can offer them.

571 On a land or canoe trip individual persons usually pass each
521 other without stopping; both parties are content with a brief greeting, a modest question and an equally brief answer (p. 921). If, however, several families of friends or relatives brought together by chance after a long separation are camping together, there is great liveliness in the group. The greeting of two friends is sometimes loud and impulsive, and on such an occasion the discussion

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571 521 between individuals may last far into the night (370). There is

370. If, as Bridges (h):305 reports, several families had joined around the fire, "they were very animated, spending most of their time in jovial conversation and in the most exuberant demonstrations of happiness. Their laughter, natural and cordial, was excessive in the extreme" /translated from Spanish/.

an exchange of personal adventures and experiences, they report and discuss what has happened in their own families, and they cover in detail their lives and activities as these unfold day by day in a smaller or larger group. This kind of exchange keeps everyone informed about the actions of his relatives and friends.

571 Of far greater significance are those gatherings that come about in connection with a universal obligation, such as /1473/ to instruct young people in the kíwaga (p. 305) and kína (p. 295), to express sympathy to mourners in the yamalaferrúna (p. 107)), or to demand atonement for a crime against life, as happens in the case of revenge for bloodshed (p. 497). All these gatherings are occasions for renewed acknowledgment of prevailing custom and lawful tradition, occasions when adults are reminded anew of their valuable heritage and it is passed on to young people. I am thinking here primarily of religious belief and the social and moral precepts, but also of the historical and mythological tradition (371). It has been mentioned a number of times that a gift

371. The assertions of Bridges (h):236 and Hyades (j):338, namely, "The natives neither preserve any tradition about their past history nor know where they came from" /translated from Spanish/ and "there are two or three legends of fantastic exploits, each telling of some ancient actual deed. . ." /translated from French/, do not need special refutation in view of what is contained in Part 4 of the present volume.

/1473 cont./

571 for story-telling is greatly appreciated (pp. 934 .1096) (372).

372. Bove (e):189 declares: "The Fuegians have an amazing gift of speech [i.e., talent for story-telling!]: very often an old man in the huts will start talking and tell about battles, violent storms, meetings with the evil spirit, and hunting adventures for hours without stopping."

These gatherings are indispensable for the assured and orderly continuance of the entire tribe; they enrich the individual and promote the general welfare. When a gathering breaks up, the participants scatter to the four winds, fully satisfied by the experience and with renewed strength within themselves, willing to conform faithfully to the prevailing obligations and laws.

Thus the larger as well as the smaller gatherings of families are extraordinarily valuable; the individual derives the most benefit from them, and the group as a whole gains many advantages. In this connection there is also the half-serious, half-humorous verbal contest known as wiloʔka (p. 958) which is sometimes followed by a regular fist fight between two groups who finally smash all the implements at hand belonging to each other. It starts out of sheer exuberance, and although the participants become very excited during the mad encounter, they end it with their tempers calmed. Finally, the hóloshi, a social celebration on a more modest scale, must be mentioned. It takes place when a few people gather for some happy occasion, for example, if the hunt was very successful or if a girl's parents give their daughter to a young man as his wife. The persons arranging it gather a great amount of meat and invite everyone available to a common meal. The almost commanding influence of a yámmna has already been described (p. 685). He is never at the same time a yékamuf. He is very conspicuous at a mourning; he speaks comforting words to those who are most affected, pointing out to them that Watayinkwa has let their relative die out of righteous indignation and as a punishment. In kindly words, he constantly points out tribal customs to the younger people. Thus, each yámmna exerts his influence through precept and example.